



# Socialist Call

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For Labor Day 1953

## ICFTU Urges World Program Against Poverty And Hunger

The end of hostilities in Korea must now be followed by a world program "directed against the hereditary enemies of suffering mankind—poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance," declared J. H. Oldenbroek, general secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Labor Day greetings to North American affiliates of the ICFTU.

In a message directed to the AFL, the CIO, the Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labor, Oldenbroek said that "the claims of the dictators who pretended they could provide these things—in exchange, of course, for the workers' hard-won political and trade union rights—have once and for all been exposed as a hollow mockery by the courageous risings of the workers of eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere against intolerable conditions of life and work."

The text of the Oldenbroek Labor Day statement follows:

"The end of hostilities in Korea has presented a new opportunity—and a new challenge—to labor in the free world. The Communist aggression has been stopped; the guns are now silent. We owe it to the memory of those who have fallen in defense of peace and freedom to see that the attack is now directed against the hereditary enemies of suffering mankind—poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance.

"This is the task which beckons us and which will only be

fulfilled if the democratic labor movement provides the will and the driving power to make all the peoples and the governments of the free world face up to their responsibilities.

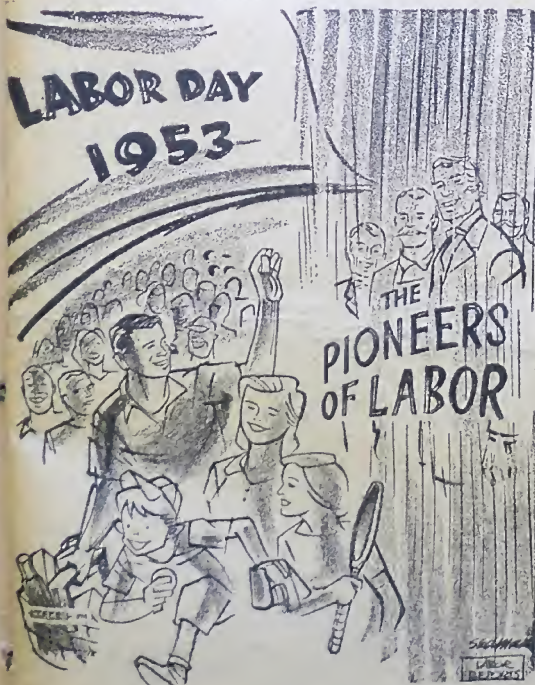
"The call which went out from the founding Congress of the ICFTU has now acquired new meaning and new urgency: 'To mobilize tools of abundance possessed by the industrially advanced nations of the world to assure full employment, security against want, old age and sickness and to provide ever-rising standards of living and a richer and fuller life for the peoples everywhere.'

"It is up to us to prove that well being in conditions of freedom and social justice can only be won, for the peoples of the industrially advanced countries as well as for the hungry millions of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the other underdeveloped regions of the world, through the democratic approach.

"The great trade union movements of the U.S. and Canada have shown by their solid backing of ICFTU organizing efforts in the world's underdeveloped areas that they are wide awake to this challenge. They reaffirmed their support at our Third World Congress in Stockholm, Sweden.

"In their continued unselfish and idealistic devotion to that cause lies one of the surest guarantees that we shall win out in our worldwide fight for bread, peace and freedom."

"THANKS!"



## New CALL In October

This is the last issue of the SOCIALIST CALL to appear in its present form.

Beginning in October, the SOCIALIST CALL will appear as a monthly, in a new format, with a number of new features and departments, and provocative discussions of the most vital questions of our time.

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# Death In Kenya: Record Of Toryism

By FENNER BROCKWAY

(Fenner Brockway, a Labor member of parliament, following a recent visit to Kenya, has maintained close touch with developments there. This article appeared in the "London Tribune.")

It is time that the Labor movement did something drastic about the situation in Kenya.

On May 20th, before returning by air from Nairobi to London, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary, said that the situation was noticeably better than when he was in Kenya six months earlier. Mr. Lyttelton must be the only man in Africa and Britain who believes that.

Leslie Hale and I were also in Nairobi when the Colonial Secretary made his first visit. Things were serious, but they were not comparable with what they are today.

The number of Europeans who had been killed by Mau Mau was then 4. The number of Africans killed by Mau Mau was 24. The number of Africans killed by security forces was about 30.

Now the number of European victims of Mau Mau is 17; the number of African victims about 500; and the number of Africans killed by the security forces 1,300.

That does not suggest that the situation is noticeably better.

When I returned from Kenya, I acknowledged that Mr. Lyttelton might crush Mau Mau as an organization; but I warned him that his policies would lead only to an intensification of the bitterness and race-antagonism which were expressed in Mau Mau.

That is what has happened.

The worst mistake of the Kenya Government and Mr. Lyttelton has been their refusal to enlist against Mau Mau any African who was not their "Yes-man."

Last November, African leaders with a large following were prepared to go to their people and say "Stick to your demands but don't degrade your case by Mau Mau methods."

Now there is only one African with any influence among his fellow Africans who is free: Leg-

islative Council Member Awori, who succeeded Odede as President of the African Union. He is not allowed to speak to his people, and his organization is suppressed.

Africans have been given only one of two choices: the Government or Mau Mau. No place has been allowed for the self-respecting African who feels the injustices of his people, yet deplores Mau Mau. If he doesn't forget his wrongs and side with the Government, he is regarded as Mau Mau.

The second mistake has been the absolute surrender to the extremist white settlers. Last November the Kenya Government was still holding out against their demands. Now it has given way, accepting measures and methods which are responsible for a greater aggregate of suffering than even Mau Mau itself.

## MAU MAU CRIMES

Mau Mau has committed unspeakable crimes: the killing and burning alive of women and children, the mutilation of men and dumb beasts. I am not suggesting that such crude and beastly things have been done on the Government side. But I am saying that the total of suffering imposed has been as great:

The collective punishments, which involved uprooting of Africans within a 25 mile radius of one murdered European, the destruction of their homes, the confiscation of their cattle, and deportation to the congested Kikuyu reserve.

The "scorched earth" destruction of crops on African land bordering the Aberdare Mountains.

The rounding up of African villages and townships, the arrest of the whole African population, men and women, for screening and searching.

The destruction of all African hutments in the suburbs of Nairobi and the eviction of hundreds of African families.

The closing of over a hundred African schools. Brutalities in the reserves, in detention camps, in prisons.

Most disquieting of all are the reports of how the "shoot to kill" order—when Africans refuse

to halt or attempt to escape or to resist arrest—is being applied.

The Government and the military Commander have felt it necessary to issue warnings. Soldiers, policemen, religious leaders, lawyers and journalists have protested. The figures speak for themselves.

In Parliament on July 15, Mr. Lyttelton stated that until July 6 1,300 Africans had been killed by the security forces, 514 are believed to have been wounded, and 2,673 taken prisoner. Between May 11 and July 6, 1,062 were killed and 349 believed wounded.

I make no charge against the majority of soldiers (many of whom have said they hate their job), the African police, the White Kenya reserve or the African Home Guard. They have generally acted with discipline—particularly the soldiers—and often with lonely heroism.

But there is a minority in Kenya who regard Africans, and particularly Kikuyus, as less than human. Even in normal times they deny to Kikuyus all the human virtues. It is to be expected that in this time of inflamed passion they will regard them as legitimate hunting.

This temper appears to have let loose a terror which the Africans fear more than the atrocities of Mau Mau. Africans themselves have suffered most from Mau Mau.

The Colonial Secretary has refused to allow a Commission of Enquiry. He has rejected an all-party delegation. He has dismissed the proposal for an inter-racial Commission.

The Labor Party is left with the alternative of sending out its own delegation.

It should have two objects. First, to inquire into the methods now employed. Second, to propose measures to bring peace and justice.

Labor has a great precedent. The party sent a delegation to Ireland during the period of the "Black and Tans." Its report exposed the repression. It opened the door to the settlement between Lloyd George and de Valera. It is our duty now to repeat this great chapter in our history.

# The Trade Union Role In Bolivia

By ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

(Robert J. Alexander, who writes regularly for the CALL, World-Over Press, and other publications on Latin American developments, is currently visiting South America.)

LA PAZ—The organized workers of Bolivia hold the future of their country in their hands. The trade unions are the principal force behind the government of President Victor Paz Estenssoro, and their continued loyalty is an absolute necessity for the maintenance of President Paz's Nationalist regime.

The Bolivian workers are in the somewhat peculiar position of being the country's chief armed force. During the revolution of April, 1952, which placed in power the present Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), the Army was virtually destroyed, since it was the main support of the old regime.

The Bolivian organized labor movement has three major wings. The most important is the Federacion Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros, which has in its ranks the miners who labor in the nation's tin industry—an industry which supplies most of the country's foreign exchange, and is the cornerstone of the nation's economy. The Federacion has been organized for more than a decade; it was established during the regime of the late Major Gualberto Villaroel, in which government the MNR also participated.

Another wing of the labor movement is the Union Sindical de Trabajadores Fabriles, which

has within its ranks most of the La Paz factory workers and those in provincial cities. It, too, is chiefly led by men close to the MNR.

The third well-organized group consists of the railroad workers. Their Confederacion Sindical de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros is the oldest of the labor federations, dating from 1938. It includes most of the railroad workers, and has usually been under the influence of the Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, which was of Stalinist tendency. The PIR has recently been dissolved, and the railroad workers are now of somewhat uncertain orientation.

A fourth element worth noting, one which has come to importance since the April revolution, comprises organizations of white collar workers. Chief among these is the Bank Employees Union. Right after the revolution, these organizations were largely in the hands of the Trotskyite Partido Obrero Revolucionario, but lately MNR elements have been contesting this influence.

Virtually all the organized workers of the country were united three weeks after the April revolution, when the Central Obrera Boliviana was established as a central labor organization. Its nominal leaders were Juan Lechin, head of the miners, and German Butron, head of the factory workers. However, in actual fact the COB was for six months under Trotskyite guidance. Only when the Trotskyites went too far did Lechin and Butron swing into action, and the Trotskyite leadership was dethroned. Since then the Trotskyites say the COB has "lost its usefulness."

Whether any of these opposition groups, or the right-wing Falange Socialista Boliviana, which has become the principal vehicle of the Nationalist regime's conservative opponents, might conceivably overthrow the Paz regime itself is a question which observers often ask. It probably depends in large part on the government's success in carrying through the revolutionary nationalist program which won it the loyalty of the Bolivian masses.

The program includes the nationalization of the mines, which has now formally been accomplished, but has yet to be made an economic success; and the agrarian reform, which is still largely in the planning state although some distribution of land has recently taken place. The agrarian reform is the more significant change of the two. It will upset property and race relations which have been dominant since the Spanish conquered the country in the 16th century.

The division of the land among the Indians will bring them into the body politic and will mean a real social revolution in Bolivia. Land reform will pave the way for the more ample development of the nation's agricultural, mining and industrial resources, something which is essential if the standard of living is to be raised.

So far, the Bolivian revolution has proceeded in an orderly fashion, and with reasonably democratic methods. In order that it may continue to do so, it will need the encouragement of friends throughout the hemisphere who believe in democratic social progress.



## The 'Penny-A-Loaf' Tax

# The GOP's New Plan To Spare The Rich

Farmers voted for their pocketbooks, regardless of propaganda and "creeping socialism." That immensely important political fact again was demonstrated last week when the nation's wheat growers voted nearly 9 to 1 to accept acreage allotments and marketing quotas.

Back of the vote was this situation: With Uncle Sam using tax money to support the price of wheat at 90 per cent of "parity," farmers have been growing huge crops. Meanwhile, wheat exports declined, despite subsidies paid from taxpayers' pockets. As a result of all this, "surplus" wheat piled mountain-high in government and private storehouses.

Along came Ezra T. Benson, President Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture. This system of price supports, he said, "regiments" the farmers and they don't like it. They are "rugged individualists" and want a system which makes the farmers "free enterprisers," growing and selling without any "government dictation."

That theory fitted in with the "philosophy" of Benson and the reactionary national leaders of the Farm Bureau Federation. They want small "family-size" farmers to go broke, so the big "efficient" farmers can take over their land.

Unfortunately for Benson, he couldn't duck a public test of his theory. The farm price support law requires that, when a huge surplus of wheat piles up, farmers must take one of two choices:

Either let the support level drop from 90 to 50 per cent of parity, cutting the market price of

wheat nearly in half—or accept a limit on the amount of wheat farmers can grow and sell at the parity price.

Acting under the law, Congress in the past session set a total limit of 62 million acres of wheat, to be "supported" next year. This limit would reduce total wheat production by 20 per cent.

### VOTE FOR 'REGIMENTATION'

Each farmer would get an "allotment" of the reduced acreage, and a market "quota" of wheat he could sell at the support price. If he grew and sold more wheat, he would face penalties of the kind Benson calls "regimentation."

Before this system could go into effect, it had to be approved by at least a two-thirds vote of the farmers. If they voted "No," the price of wheat would fall from \$2.20 a bushel to \$1.20.

They overwhelmingly voted "Yes." They agreed to accept the controls and keep parity price supports.

Benson tried to put the best possible "face" on the outcome. He said it will help the Republicans in next year's election, because rejection of the price support system would have drastically reduced the income of farmers and made them hostile toward the Administration. That's a different tune than the one Benson sang before the vote.

However, the United Press reports that Benson and other Department of Agriculture officials are planning to ask Congress to do away with the price support system and replace it with a shock-

ing new scheme, which would work like this:

### PENNY-A-LOAF TAX SCHEME

By levying a "penny-a-loaf" tax on bread, the government would raise hundreds of millions of dollars to finance a "two price" system for wheat.

Under this system, farmers could grow as much wheat they want, and sell it at the "market" price. For all wheat sold for use by American consumers, they would get a subsidy to bring their total price up to the full parity price.

For all other wheat—such as that sold for export—farmers would get only the market price. Thus, in effect, the system would subsidize foreign wheat consumers at the expense of all Americans who buy bread.

Also, this would be a "soak-the-poor, or soak-for-the-rich" scheme, for the following reason:

Under the present price support system, wheat subsidies are paid by taxes on everyone, rich and poor, and largely in proportion to "ability to pay."

Under the new scheme of the Agriculture Department officials, the poor would do far more than their share of the paying, because bread plays a much bigger part in the diet and budget of poor families than of rich ones.

As a bushel of wheat makes about 60 loaves of bread, the penny-a-loaf tax would wipe out a subsidy of 48 cents a bushel. Multiplied by billions of loaves and millions of bushels, it would provide a lot of "relief" for rich taxpayers and foreign wheat consumers.

<b>K. ODEGARD</b> Creston, Montana	<b>F. KLOPPE</b> Taylor, Texas	<b>CAROLYN WELLS</b> Oak Park, Illinois	<b>Workmen's Circle Branch 320</b> Albany, New York	<b>MRS. E. BLACK</b> Brooklyn, New York
Greetings from <b>NEWPORT BEACH</b> California	<b>A. L. HOEHN</b> St. Louis, Mo.	<b>LEROY MORLOCK</b> East Rochester, N. Y.	With best wishes for success <b>H. L. PERRY</b> Santa Rosa, California	Greetings to all who labor for a better world <b>A "Hatched" Yank</b>
Labor Day Greetings <b>County Central Committee</b> Milwaukee, Wisconsin Emil Brodde, Secretary-Treasurer	<b>OSCAR K. EDELMAN</b> Dayton, Ohio	<b>DONALD C. BROSS</b> Glen Oaks, New York	Greetings from the <b>20th Ward Branch</b> Socialist Party Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Greetings from the <b>German Branch</b> Socialist Party Milwaukee, Wisconsin
<b>WORKMEN'S CIRCLE</b> Branch 559 Cleveland, Ohio	Greetings to the new CALL <b>ANNA WRIGHT</b> Gloversville, New York	Labor Day Greetings <b>County Central Committee</b> Socialist Party Milwaukee, Wisconsin		
	<b>WILLIAM HUGHES</b> Philadelphia, Pa.			

Labor Day Greetings from the

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers  
affiliated with the  
American Federation of Labor  
and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary

International Office, Fort Edward, New York



# Byrnes Comes To The United Nations

(The following editorial appeared in the Los Angeles Tribune, one of the country's foremost Negro publications.)

Big hassle about the country, Negro-wise, over the appointment of South Carolina's rock-ribbed Negro hater Jimmy Byrnes, to the United Nations. We'd like to sound like the voice of doom about it, but our Cassandra-wails are mixed with glee. We shiver for the fate of the United Nations under the tender ministrations of Byrnes, but we can't help chortling, "I told you so" to you who wanted "a change."

Like everybody else in the U.S., seemingly, we can't make up our mind about Eisenhower—whether he is naive and trusting, hoping for the best, in these things he does . . . or whether he seriously wants to destroy such agencies as the United Nations, not to mention the very economy of the country, the peace and security of the world.

He couldn't have chosen a better agent for the job, unless it be McCarthy, than Byrnes. South Carolina's Mr. Jimmy is one of the most rabid Bourbons of this generation, and this nation. Beneath that poised, smiling and patrician exterior, he is like a snake, drastic and fanatical in action.

Find a public figure who has matched him in venom with his threat to dissolve the public schools, the system of free education in his state, rather than submit to integrated schools.

Byrnes has an unblemished 42-year record in the United States Congress, the Government, and the government of his native state for singleminded devotion to the cause of keeping Negroes in their places and preserving what he arbitrarily and inaccurately chooses to regard as the purity of white blood . . . Someone, sometimes introduce him to the so-called "brass an-

kles' . . . the 'no-race' folks of his state.

## A LOOK AT THE RECORD

Looking at the record: as early as 1911 when he sat in the House of Representatives, Byrnes was delivering himself eloquently and hatefully against anti-lynching and higher education for Negroes (i.e. appropriations for Howard University—Scads of Howard faculty members who went for Eisenhower last November must now feel splendidly vindicated!)

In 1917, he was against the U.S. conscripting soldiers for World War I because he didn't want mixed troops.

In 1919, he struck a new low, asking the Attorney General to prosecute the editors of the Crisis and A. Philip Randolph, of the Messenger, because they demanded equal rights for Negroes. Venomously he said then, and was widely quoted, "Any Negro who doesn't care to live in this land without political and social equality can depart for any country he wishes because 90 million white people are determined not to extend political and social equality to 10 million Negroes."

He was slightly wrong as it developed; but he has never given up the fight.

Greetings on Labor Day  
**WALTER WAPPLER**  
Member, 20th Ward Branch  
Socialist Party  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

**Rabbi Isidor Hoffman**  
New York

**EDWARD A. LINCOLN**  
Halifax, Mass.

**JOHN K. and KATHERINE ARNOT**  
Mooreville, Indiana

**Workmen's Circle**  
Branch 45  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Going into the Senate in 1931, Byrnes devoted himself to opposing minimum wage laws and gave a good account of himself in the filibusters against anti-lynching legislation.

One of the thorns in the crown of the late F.D.R. was his admiration for Byrnes, resulting in his taking him into the cabinet as Secretary of State just before Roosevelt's death. Byrnes distinguished himself there before all the world for his narrow mind, and made the U.S. a regular dart board for Communism's gibes and taunts about the way our white folks treat their Negroes.

Retired to stud as governor of

South Carolina in 1951, his best efforts have been spent devising ways and means of bottling up the state's public education in the event the Supreme Court, if it ever gets around to handing down a decision in the separate schools issue, decides against South Carolina.

The mania for self-destruction implicit in all such precious ideas of one's self, one's race, or one's country as Mr. Byrnes', is patent in such a vow . . . especially when you reflect upon the fact that the Selective Service found more white illiterates to the square yard in South Carolina than in any state in the union, Tennessee and Mississippi included.

Byrnes next came to national and international note July a year ago when by his implacable presence, directly behind the California delegation to the Democratic national convention, he, more than any single force, inspired all the various compromises in the party platform which caused it to be apostate to its liberal principles . . . in the

name of expediency and election hopes.

To interject a personal note, we were in that delegation, and whenever we could, we got an aisle seat from which to contemplate across the aisle, grasping the South Carolina standard, the patrician-featured, white-haired Governor.

About his lips always there hovered the thin, sick smile of the overly refined . . . not to mention of the sadist who has somebody's vitals in a vise and is about to turn the last screw.

Byrnes was easily one of the most impressive men in the convention . . . and we remember thinking at the time how unfortunate it was that all that resolve, that control, that perception and keenness were so shabbily dedicated . . .

Byrnes and Lodge insure that the United Nations will be trying to sub-let Lake Success before Eisenhower's term of office is up.

## A Petition To The President

(The following petition is being distributed by the Socialist Party.)

Whereas, Gov. James Byrnes represents in the United States the unAmerican and anti-democratic policy of racism which we are striving to eradicate from our national life, and

Whereas, his appointment as representative of the United States to the United Nations does not reflect the opinion of the American people, and

Whereas, this appointment strengthens the hand of those who would perpetuate discrimination among American citizens on the artificial basis of race; and

Whereas, his service as international representative of the United States would disgrace before democratic-minded world opinion and damage the effectiveness of American leadership abroad,

WE PETITION for the withdrawal of this appointment and the selection of a citizen who represents the best, rather than the worst, in our public life.

For Labor Day  
**L. MITTLACHER**

**SKIRT MAKERS UNION**  
Local 23

22 West 38th Street  
New York 18, N.Y.

Louis Reiss, Manager-Secretary

Greetings from

**LOCAL**

**NEW YORK**

on Labor Day

Greetings from  
**TACOMA, WASHINGTON**  
**Gottfried Etter**

Greetings to the CALL on Labor Day

**CAMDEN BRANCH**  
**Socialist Party**

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**SOCIALIST PARTY**  
of MICHIGAN  
on Labor Day

Labor Day Greetings

**LOCAL DETROIT**  
**Socialist Party**

Greetings on Labor Day from the  
**New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America**  
**Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer**



# The SOCIALIST CALL

ROBIN MYERS, Editor

Associate Editors

AARON LEVENSTEIN

NORMAN THOMAS

HERMAN SINGER

Contributing Editors: Erich Fromm, Patrick Gorman,  
Donald Harrington, Harry W. Laidler

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## Norwalk's Tactics Wiping Out Slums

By DAVID ANDERSON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

NORWALK, Conn., Aug. 9.—A dismal collection of obsolete, tumbledown houses, some of them more than 100 years old and all of them heavy with violations of the city's building, health and fire codes, is being eliminated from the heart of Norwalk in a novel experiment with fast-moving, hard-hitting official squads.

These municipal housing commands operate out of City Hall upon the orders of Mayor Irving C. Freese. Each unit is composed of men from the interested city departments and they have only a few blocks to walk from their desks to the scene of action.

Although the Mayor's plan of attack was relatively simple, it has not been tried elsewhere, so far as he knows. The first move came with applications for occupancy of the new Samuel Roodner Court, a Federal low-cost housing development. Each time a family was approved, the building from which it moved was singled out for a squad visit and invariably the place was condemned.

### ECONOMIC SITUATIONS MET

Some trouble has been met in preventing other families from moving into the filthy and dangerous vacuum, and the authorities are often hard pressed to find accommodations for persons who cannot get into Roodner Court and cannot remain where they are. Mr. Freese believes, however, that in a community of 50,000, like Norwalk, solutions can be worked out through cooperation with landlords.

When he feels that it won't be forthcoming, he adopts a different tactic. Thus the Mayor's office issued a recent memorandum on the subject of a tenement on Wood Street owned by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, "a substandard group of two-story, frame row houses, erected about 1885, and containing fourteen apartments."

This was singled out for exposure because, for one reason, "it is owned by a large public utility that has no right to demand subsidy by the City of Norwalk." Mayor Freese then calculated that while taxes paid on the property last year were only \$303, the cost to the town in educating twelve children living

there was \$3,600. The same argument he advanced in the case of 39-43 Raymond Street where taxes amounting to \$143 were set against medical charges estimated at \$8,000 for four persons found to be suffering from tuberculosis.

### CONSIDERATION FOR PEOPLE

The program calls for the elimination of 220 dwelling units as soon as possible. It is assumed that about half of the old buildings can be profitably renovated and the remainder torn down to make way for light industry or warehouses.

"Norwalk must be a place where a man can earn a living and live a life," explained the Mayor, a Socialist who ran for various offices for twenty years before he was elected in 1947. "Slum clearance with us isn't just a job of brick and mortar, for people as well as buildings are concerned. Its both uplift and tear down."

He works "twenty-five hours a day" in and out of a hole-in-the-wall office piled high with papers and books. The door leading to the main vestibule is usually open, inviting visitors and leaving his secretary undisturbed, in her inner sanctum. The truth is that she catches most of the business calls anyway because Mr. Freese is either away or so busy that passers-by are frightened off.

Nothing delights the Mayor more than the chance to rush out with a squad to tack up on the sill of an offending tenement the little square card, resembling a warning of plague, that reads: "This building is not fit for occupancy."

Scores of families are still living behind such labels, but their future seems brighter for, as Mayor Freese admits, he is "pretty good at action."

(N.Y. Times)

### ARMIN C. GRAUL

Indianapolis, Indiana

## Books In Review

# The Story Of Revolution On Africa's Gold Coast

THE GOLD COAST REVOLUTION. By George Padmore. Dennis Dobson Ltd., London.

Reviewed by IRWIN SUALL

George Padmore, that inveterate fighter against imperialism, has written a clear and concise account of recent revolutionary developments in Ghana (Gold Coast). This book is a politically wise description of what is by far the most hopeful development in post-war Africa. Through the alert, realistic, and dynamic leadership of the Convention People's Party under Kwame Nkrumah, the people of Ghana are today on the threshold of responsible independence.

The major lesson to be learned from the successful program of the C.P.P. is clearly outlined by Padmore. Briefly, it consists of forthright, militant activity based upon self-confidence and political acumen. It took time for the Gold Coast nationalist movement to mature. It went through a long period of mild and timid intellectual leadership characterized by pleading petitions for greater consideration from the British Colonial administration.

However, Nkrumah and his comrades succeeded in outmaneuvering the old leadership by involving the mass of the people in the struggle. By going directly to the farmers, workers, and tradespeople, the C.P.P. swept aside the learned lawyers and professionals who had made "a good thing" of their positions vis-a-vis the British.

### THE VICTORY OF THE CPP

It is not possible to trace the entire course of recent constitutional history in the Gold Coast. It is enough to indicate that within the course of a short period of a few years the country has emerged from a status in which decisive power lay with the British rulers to one of responsible government by and for the people of Ghana. The first general election, held in 1951, in which over 80 percent of the electorate voted, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Convention People's Party. The election was conducted along party lines, and Kwame Nkrumah emerged from prison (where he was serving time for the 1950 "Positive Action" campaign of non-violent disobedience) to become the leader of the Government. He is at the present time the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast.

Under the leadership of the C.P.P. the Gold Coast is presently embarked upon an economic program designed to raise the standard of living of the entire nation. Through Government intervention progress is underway toward vast improvement in the growing and marketing of cacao, the most important product of the country. Through the use of public marketing boards, the monopoly once held by the foreign trading firms has been smashed. A Cooperative Marketing Association has been established to aid the independent growers in getting a square deal financially.

The Gold Coast is also rich in various other products such as bauxite, manganese, diamonds, timber, and gold. Steps are being taken toward the further development of these resources and their utilization for the welfare of the people. A program for improving sea and land trans-

portation, communications, hydro-electric developments, and gradual industrialization has also been undertaken, which hold great promise for the future.

### THE SOCIALIST ASPECT

The Convention People's Party is a democratic socialist party. Nkrumah is an avowed socialist and the Party's constitution lists as its first aim, "Self-Government now and the development of (Gold Coast) Ghana on the basis of socialism." Its international aims are stated "to work with nationalist, democratic and socialist movements in Africa and other continents, with a view to abolishing imperialism, colonialism, racialism, tribalism, and all forms of national and racial oppression and economic inequality among nations, races, and peoples, and to support all action for world peace."

With regard to Britain, it aims at becoming a fully self-governing member of the Commonwealth. Although militantly nationalist, it has avoided bitter fanaticism. Upon emerging from

prison in 1951, Kwame Nkrumah stated, "I come out of jail and into the Assembly without the slightest feeling of bitterness toward Britain. I stand for no racialism, no discrimination against any race or individual, but I am unalterably opposed to imperialism in any form."

Here then, is a beacon light for the whole of Africa. The Gold Coast is providing living evidence of the fact that responsible self-government results from the trial and error process of actual self-rule, and not from the patronizing tutelage of a colonial power.

It is to be fervently wished that the leadership of the Gold Coast will embark upon a serious and active program of aiding and guiding their brother Africans in a vast movement for the liberation of all Africa from the tyranny of imperialism; for the future of that great continent lies not with the European Colonial Offices nor with the Malans and Welenskys, but with the people.

## Readers Write

### On Genocide

(The following letter appeared in the New York Times July 13.)

The New York Times has always shown deep concern in supporting international action for the prevention and punishment of conduct aiming at the systematic destruction of national, religious, racial and ethnic groups.

I therefore draw your attention to a move in the UN by the Chinese Nationalist Government which seeks UN action to revise the text of the existing Genocide Convention in such a way that the concept of genocide is likely to be equated and confused with certain war crimes as defined in the Nuremberg judgement.

The new Chinese text seems to display great similarity to a definition of genocide in the UN draft Code of Offense, such code being clearly based upon the Nuremberg judgment.

But the Chinese proposal, despite the good intentions of that Government, will tend to confuse aggressive war.

The principle is that a multi-lateral treaty like genocide, having been ratified by the parliaments of so many nations after tremendous effort extending over many years, should not be lightly or inadvisedly thrown back into the area of dispute in such a way as to interfere with the development of international law and the supreme sanction of treaties.

HERBERT V. EVATT  
New York, N.Y.

### From Sam Friedman

To the Editor:

I am taking occasion in this Labor Day issue of The CALL, the last CALL in the old format, to write a belated note of thanks and deep appreciation to the many comrades from Boston to the Golden Coast and back again to New York, who did so much —often at great personal inconvenience and sacrifice—to help along the party's national campaign during the period when I was on national tour last year. I had intended writing a personal note of thanks to each of these comrades and friends when I got back, but I found the pressure of job and extra-curricular work too great. However, I want them to know how profoundly I was moved by their warm comradeship and ready cooperation and by the evidence they gave of the survival despite great obstacles and difficulties of Socialist spirit and Socialist faith.

SAMUEL H. FRIEDMAN  
Chairman, Local New York

### NOTE

Samuel Friedman, who is president of Local 1707 of the Community Service and Social Agency Employees Union, CIO, and chairman of the United Jewish Appeal chapter of the same union, will be honored by his home chapter at a testimonial dinner Monday, October 5, at 6 p.m., at the Hotel Empire, Broadway and 63 Street, New York.



## Calling The Shots

## Thunder On The Right

By HERMAN SINGER

The end of the first session of the 83rd Congress gave commentators an opportunity to attempt evaluations of the impact of the Eisenhower administration thus far. Not too surprisingly, conservative publications came to the conclusion that, by and large, six months of GOP-ism had been just what the doctor ordered. While admitting that the Eisenhower program had not been completely fulfilled, enough had been enacted to put the Republican pundits in a favorable frame of mind, and even to inspire them sufficiently to feel that a basis had been laid for victory in the Congressional elections next year.

Since the average Republican legislator sees the voter in terms of his own economic predilections, the record on which the GOP stands includes legislation calling for giveaway programs in oil, heavy curtailment of appropriations for public power (Governor Dewey of New York on one occasion had to defend himself against the charge of advocating "creeping socialism" because of his support of federal aid in building the St. Lawrence Power Project), liquidation of the public housing program, and easing the tax burden on the wealthy.

Somewhat less expected was the reaction of the bulk of Democratic representatives, cast willy-nilly in the role of official oppositionists. With the exception of the independent Senator Wayne Morse and occasional Democrats such as Senator Douglas, no particularly consistent record of opposition was developed. On the contrary, the bulk of the Democratic Senators, including most of the Southern bloc, were most congenial to the Republican program, and their campaign battle-cry cry will apparently be that they have, without undue difficulty, converted themselves into me-too Eisenhowerites. What seems to have emerged from the first session of the 83rd Congress is the fact that a coalition of the nation's conservative forces has been accomplished on the working level.

This was emphasized by developments last week, when leaders of the Democratic Southern bloc, who have never been backward in arguing for their racist program, announced that they would boycott the Democratic rally for Adlai Stevenson, scheduled for Chicago on September 15. Not only did the boycotters include those Democrats who had supported Eisenhower, such as Governors James Byrnes and Allan Shivers, but Mississippi Governor Hugh White, a Stevenson supporter, who announced that any attempt to bind Southern Democrats with a party pledge which might include endorsement of a civil rights program, would result in the failure of the Democrats ever to elect another president. While the capacity of the Southern Democrats to make good in producing permanent victory for Republican candidates is somewhat limited, what it does seem to portend is a realignment of forces on the right.

Despite this right-wing shift there has been nothing comparable among the liberal forces, either in or out of the Democratic Party. Although, in recent weeks, as indicated in talks by Walter Reuther, George Meany and James Carey, there has been increasing restiveness among trade union leaders as to the failure of the liberal Democrats to resist the Eisenhower program, this uneasiness has not been transplanted into an effective fighting program on the economic or political front.

As part of the traditional relationship of the New Deal and labor, the trade unions have generally awaited a lead from the Democratic Party ideologists. Yet, this is precisely what the Democratic Party is not prepared to deliver, at this time. One of the comments made by a British observer, during the course of Stevenson's stay in England, was that Stevenson had been a disappointment to British liberals and laborites, who had expected from him a more forthright statement of the American liberal position. To Americans this has been clear, since Stevenson, of course, had at no time during his own campaign made any effort to present himself as anything other than a rather mild New Dealer.

The permanent shift of Southern Democrats toward the GOP is an indication of the hardening of conservative forces in the country. On Labor Day the trade unions traditionally cast up their accounts. It might be well for American labor to consider the thunder on the right, and rally its political forces on behalf of a vital program for the nation's workers before the storm really breaks.

## The Workers' Share In The 'Miracle' Of German Recovery

By FRITZ HEINE

(Forming an important part of the background of the German elections, September 6, are the facts presented here by Fritz Heine, head of the Social-Democratic Party press service.)

BONN—The Adenauer Government has since it came into existence in 1949 pursued policies in economic matters which have gained it the enthusiastic plaudits of most industrialists and of all millionaires—and bitter condemnation from millions of poor people.

The Government pretends that this recovery is exclusively due to its policies and that the process of recovery benefits all Germans in something like the same measure.

The truth is that the Adenauer Government has staked out a course on essential points of German economic, financial and social affairs which makes the rich wealthier and the poor poorer. Does the German live better, or as well as other nations of Europe in consequence of these economic policies?

The answer is no. Private consumption has only now reached the prewar level in Germany, whereas most countries of western Europe have long since surpassed their prewar levels. That would have been possible in Germany too if the distribution of the national product had been more just.

Instead the consumption of the little man has been artificially throttled by excessive taxation and dues.

The outcome is that the German today consumes only two-thirds of the quantities of meat, butter, etc., that he consumed before the war; that, in order to buy the same quantity of food as, for instance, an Englishman, he has to work in many cases twice and three times as long in order to earn the necessary money; and that he must largely forego high-quality foods.

## SOME REALITIES

Behind the dazzling front of the supposed German economic miracle the following sinister aspects of German reality hide:

Five million dwellings are still needed. Two families out of three have no dwelling of their own.

One hundred thousand refugee families live in mass quarters.

Six out of ten adolescents have no bedroom of their own. One out of three adolescents is without a family environment.

Even in the most favorable season there is one million unemployed, many of them unemployed for eight years back.

Some ten million people, one fifth of the population, have an income far below the existential minimum. Nearly two million of this number dispose of a monthly cash income under forty marks (ten dollars).

Twice as many children are pressed into the public school classes of West Germany as into those of Belgium (48 against 21).

All of this would have been unnecessary—and it is only part of the dark picture—if policies of social justice and of reconciliation of extremes had been pursued in Germany.

Instead, taxes were laid on unfairly, the small savers were dispossessed and the stockholders spared, wages were kept low and

the profits of industry favored, excessive prices tolerated and the cost of living increased.

The Adenauer Government pursues the very opposite of fair taxation policies: nearly two thirds of the budgetary needs are covered by the indirect taxes on consumption which fall most heavily on the poor. While the workers have to pay taxes to the last penny on their wages the Government permits tax exemptions to the tune of 4,000 million marks for the rich and has allowed the same class an annual rebate on taxes of 1,250 million marks.

The currency reform of 1948 caused the total savings accounts to melt from 71,000 to 4,000 million marks thus practically confiscating the holdings of the little people for the second time in German history, whereas Germans who had investments in 1914 terms were allowed to retain their purchasing value through two wars and two periods of heavy inflation, a probably unique procedure in world history.

## THE WAGE QUESTION

Wages were kept low; whereas the industrial turnover rose in

two years by more than forty per cent, wages only rose by ten per cent. Similarly the share of the total industrial product allotted to wages fell and the profit quota of the industrialists rose considerably.

Price exploitation in Germany is beyond measure. As an instance the price for building materials, a matter of decisive importance, has risen since the currency reform to 260 per cent of the prewar level. Prices for food, clothing and household goods have in the years of the Adenauer regime risen by 50 to 100 per cent. Wages have followed if at a great distance but pension benefits not at all.

The situation today is that most workers and employees pay nearly half the family income for food alone.

The reverse is the increasing and conspicuous wealth of the propertied classes. Whereas the number of millionaires is falling in practically all other countries, their number rises uninterruptedly in Germany—during the four years of the Adenauer administration we have registered 200 new millionaire families in Germany.

The taxation policies of this government have made it possible for more than ten thousand people in Germany after taxes to spend a net income of more than 65,000 marks annually on themselves. In Great Britain with a population of approximately the same size, in which the Labor Government according to an observation of the German envoy has abolished poverty, there are only some sixty people left with an income of the kind.

At the end of the first election period of the Bundestag and after five years of a "social" market economy most of the people of West Germany live in undeserved poverty and without hopes of an assured and livable old age, as compared with nations of equal pattern in west and northern Europe.

As against this a small segment of the nation makes a display of luxury at the expense of the tax revenues of the nation which provokes sharp criticism not only from the people at home who stand to suffer, but abroad. The policies of the present government make it possible for individuals to indulge in excessive luxury and for certain circles to spend freely in a manner that contrasts harshly with the want of many million Germans, particularly in the depressed areas.

## Spanish Trade Unionists Tortured In Franco Jails

Reports of the torture of Spanish trade unionists by Barcelona police have recently reached the United States. Two of the men were driven insane in the process of interrogation and are now held in the Asylum of San Baudilio. A third was severely beaten. Fifteen others, all members of the illegal National Confederation of Labor, have been arrested and face trial.

The news was made public in a communication from the Inter-continental Secretariat of the union to the Committee to Defend Franco's Labor Victims, 112 E. 19th Street, an anti-communist organization headed by Norman Thomas and supported by both CIO and AFL unionists and various liberal groups.

The unionists arrested were all connected with the illegal newspaper "Solidaridad Obrera." The round-up began in early July when the men were taken to Barcelona Police Headquarters.

They have since been moved to the Prison Celular de Barcelona and are to be arraigned before a military tribunal on the charge of subversive activities.



# The Attack On Education In The Los Angeles Schools

By HENRY MERRITT

A decade and more ago Boston was the laughing stock of the country because of its censorship of books dealing with frank discussions of sex. Today the social atmosphere is such that we no longer can enjoy laughter at the expense of self-styled puritanical censors. If we could, Los Angeles would have supplanted

Club of the First Congregational Church of L.A., the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion and the Hearst press.

The campaign they waged bordered on the hysterical. Supporters of UNESCO were denounced as Communists and were annoyed at their homes by crank letters and phone calls. The hatred engendered by the super-patriots caused honest citizens to wonder if their city was part of the United States.

During the fight over UNESCO several members of the Board of Education resigned rather than take the abuse. The Board then appointed new members to fill the vacancies. Among the new appointees was Mrs. Ruth Cole, who was endorsed by the Small Property Owners Association because of her activity against the U.N. agency.

## THE POST-FORD REACTION

The triumph of reaction in January paved the way for the

action in July. The Ford Foundation offered a grant of \$335,000 to the community for on the job training of teachers so as to relieve the teacher shortage. The project was to be carried out by the Board of Education in collaboration with University of Southern California, U.C.L.A., and the Los Angeles Teachers College. The donor was to have no control over the experiment.

The irony of the situation is that the Board of Education asked

## Socialist Party Statement On YS

The Socialist Party announces with regret the temporary suspension of its youth section the Young Socialists, more usually known as the Young Peoples Socialist League. This action was taken following a decision of the Young Socialist National Organization Committee (and later the YS NEC) to attempt to withdraw the organization from the Socialist Party and to seek organic unity with the Socialist Youth League, which is the youth section of the Shachtmanite-Trotskyist organization.

This action does not affect the individual standing of members of the Young Socialists and/or the Party. It does mean that the former national officers of the Young Socialists are no longer authorized either to speak or to act on behalf of that organization or of the Party.

Reorganization of the Young Socialists by members loyal to the Socialist movement is expected in the near future, and members of the Party will be asked to do whatever they can to aid in the rebuilding of our youth section.

Eye Opener Pamphlet Service  
2929 West Jerome Street  
Chicago 45, Illinois

Labor Day Greetings

ERMA ARNSTEIN  
San Francisco

Farewell greetings to the CALL  
with regret and best wishes  
from an old-timer  
PAUL F. GRAEBER  
Edmond, Oklahoma

KARL A. ZEITNER  
Allentown, Pa.

MARY E. MASON  
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

Labor Day Greetings

JOHN D. HALLAR  
Baron, California

# Reading Socialists Seek Aid In Coming Municipal Elections

READING, PA.—Reading socialists, who are now entering the second phase of a municipal electoral campaign in which they are rated their best chance in a decade of making gains, are asking financial help from American socialists anywhere who believe in electoral action where there are demonstrated possibilities of success, either in terms of election or gains in placing the socialist message before the public.

Basis of the socialist optimism are the private polls which show an increasing disgust with the recently elected GOP and an equal reluctance to return to the discredited and corrupt big-city Democratic machine rules. A primary effort of the organized labor movement to place one of its union local heads on the Democratic ticket was turned back by the old-time machine thus further spreading discontent among liberal and progressive forces.

Checks, money orders or cash should be made payable to: Local Berks Socialist Party, J. Gordon McLean, Treas., and sent to Local Berks Socialist Party, 628 Walnut Street, Reading, Pa.

The Local is now planning a series of leaflets on municipal issues, a radio-television program and other publicity media. Because in most cases contracts must be signed now contributions made at this time permit planning which cannot be left until the end.

ed for the grant and approved it by a 4 to 1 vote—only one month prior to its rejection. As soon as the vote was announced, the hate machine went into action. Mrs. Ruth Cole who had been absent from the Board meeting when the vote was taken took exception to the fact that Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, the Superintendent of Schools would administer the project. Dr. Stoddard had previously been attacked as a progressive educator as well as a supporter of UNESCO.

Through public meetings and with the aid of the Hearst press, Mrs. Cole and Mrs. Stafford (the one dissenter at the June meeting of the Board of Education) aroused the extremist fringe to hysteria. Paul E. Hoffman, former President of the Ford Foundation, became the whipping boy of the "outraged" citizenry. He had at a public meeting defended UNESCO. By illogic, UNESCO was tied up with subversion if not communism. Since Paul Hoffman defended UNESCO he was a subversive; and since he was connected with the Ford Foundation, it too was subversive.

Unfortunately, at the July meeting of the Board of Education the previous decision to go

ahead with the experiment was reversed by a 5 to 1 vote. The one member who retained his integrity and sanity as he did on the UNESCO issue was Arthur F. Gardner.

While our daily press worries about the danger of "creeping socialism," leaping reaction is loose within our educational institutions. First it was Pasadena where a progressive Superintendent of Schools was discharged. Now it is Los Angeles. If these contemptuous situations are not exposed and resisted they will become a danger to free education in the United States.

Fraternal Greetings from

John M. & Lucy J. Work  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

MRS. L. B. SYME

New Orleans, La.

Greetings from  
Workmen's Circle Branch 111  
Detroit, Michigan

Labor Day Greetings

LAURA L. BLOOD

Schenectady, N. Y.

Greetings from

LOCAL  
SAN FRANCISCO

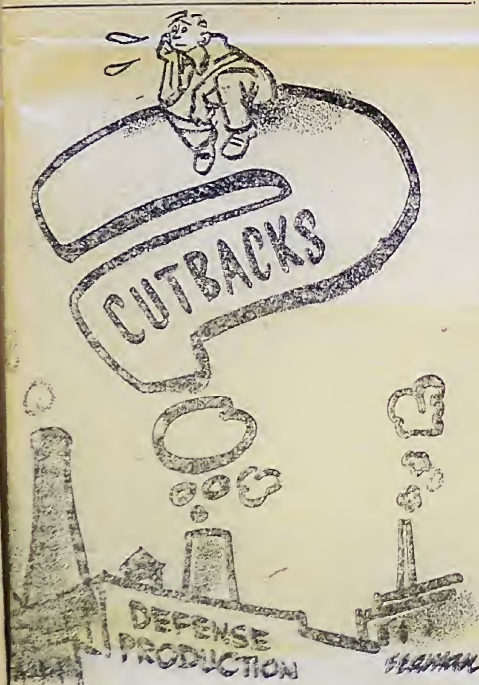
Labor Day Greetings

Mechanics Educational Society  
Of America

1974 National Bank Bldg. Detroit, Michigan

George White, President  
Matthew Smith, National Secretary

## "On the Hook"



Labor Day Greetings

Socialist Party

in

Colorado

and Katherine  
BERTIN

Des Moines, Iowa

Greetings to the  
SOCIALIST CALL

RICHARD A. LINDBLAD

Prescott, Wisconsin

Fraternal Labor Day Greetings

Workmen's Benefit Fund  
of the  
United States  
of America

714 Seneca Avenue  
Brooklyn 27, N. Y.



# French Imperialism In Morocco

By NORMAN THOMAS

(Norman Thomas, who has recently returned from a trip abroad which included visits to Morocco, Egypt and Tunisia, here gives the background to the events which led to the deposition of the Sultan of Morocco. This article is abridged from a series prepared for syndication by the Mirror Enterprises, Co., which holds the copyright.)

The arrogant French deposition of the Sultan of Morocco dramatically calls attention to North Africa, an area whose strategic military importance for the cold war—consider our great air bases in Morocco—is more than matched by its importance in a complex ideological struggle. North Africa is the testing ground for the battle for modernization of ancient cultures, and for democracy against both the old colonial imperialism of the West and the new communist imperialism. Racial and religious issues and passions are involved, and, perhaps most of all, the rising tides of nationalism.

We humans like to bundle up our problems in large packages. Thus, we talk about the African problem, the challenge of the Moslem world, the Arab nations and the Middle East, the future of the French empire—all of them against the background of our well-justified fear of communist expansion. In all these classifications of problems the North African countries which I visited are involved, and all of them have their own special problems and their own particular nationalist aspirations.

Nevertheless while the centrifugal force of nationalism is stronger than the centripetal force of Pan Islam or Arab union, the latter cannot be ignored. The U.N. has its Asian-Arab bloc. The world is familiar with the Arab League, and the power of various Moslem Brotherhoods.

It was the assassination of the nationalist Tunisian labor leader, Farhat Hached, which set off the serious riots last December in Casablanca. In Cairo I listened for a time to a large delegation from French Algeria which was passionately advocating an Arabian union of North Africa and the complete termination of Al-

geria's status as part of metropolitan France.

When I left Morocco just before the Sultan was deposed, I was loaded down with propaganda literature, and well aware of the opposition of El Glaoui and El Kittani to the Sultan and of the efforts of the French to use the Berber chief and the president of a Moslem brotherhood to undermine the Sultan's authority and coerce him to do the French bidding. I did not think, however, that the French would so soon go so far as to depose the Sultan on the thin pretext that thus they were preventing the civil war that they had done so much to foment.

M. deBlessens, a suave diplomat and firm administrator, second in command in Morocco, had made it perfectly evident to me that the French would not make any promises concerning ultimate intentions in Morocco, also that they were in no hurry to restore the independence which they had wiped out so far as nationalists in general and the Istiqlal Party in particular were concerned. He did not trouble to conceal his liking for El Glaoui and his disapproval of the Sultan

who had refused to sign French decrees. But he seemed prepared to recognize the shadowy temporal and more powerful spiritual sovereignty which the Sultan enjoyed.

## THE NATIONALIST ELEMENTS

The nationalist movement, led by the Moroccan intellectual elite, was strongly supported by the city workers, notably in the booming town of Casablanca and by the Sultan himself. It was less strongly supported in the country districts and was opposed for personal reasons by the powerful old Berber chief, El Glaoui, pasha of Marrakesh (where Churchill likes to go to rest and paint) and by the religious leader, El Kittani, who had a personal feud with the Sultan's family.

There are differences in the town and country point of view. The towns have seen the rapid creation of an industrial proletariat, miserably poor in comparison with the French capitalists and their managers, while the country is still largely in the grip of the old tribal or feudal civilization. This division between town and country corresponds in a rough sort of way to the blurred division between

Arabs and Berbers. But the latter is far less acute than the French are trying to make it.

All Moroccans are Moslems and the Sultan was the spiritual leader or Imam of the Moslems, a Sherif, or descendant of Mohammed. For the infidel French to depose him, even in the interests of his aged uncle, also of course, of a Sherifian family, is a very dangerous gamble. It is a blow to nationalism which has already aroused the 16 nation Arab bloc. It will certainly arouse bitter resentment in Morocco and sooner or later it will probably kindle the very civil war which the French allege they want to prevent but which they deliberately incited.

## CRITICS OF COLONIALISM

There is perhaps hope of a more rational attitude in France because the Laniel cabinet is not too secure. The socialists and the powerful Catholic group centering around the Nobel prize winner, Francois Mauriac, are bitter critics of their government's obstinate insistence on making the protectorate of Morocco into a French colony rather than developing it for independence as a possible member of a French confederation.

The situation in Morocco is of itself complex. Nationalism has dawned in a country much of which still lives in the Moorish civilization of the 12th and 13th centuries—a civilization that had its own glories. Capitalism and modern industrialism have made their impact. Concerning the actual condition of the people and the rate of progress much of the French and nationalist evidence is diametrically contradictory. It seemed to me probable that there

is under the French a progress in irrigation, industrial and agricultural development, health and education which an independent Morocco could not immediately afford by itself.

But since last December's riots, Istiqlal (Independence Party) has been ruthlessly suppressed, and there is little, if any, evidence of French intention to train and admit more Moroccans into the government, properly to restrain the relatively small numbers of French settlers whose power and holdings are out of all proportion to their numbers or to give any promise of independence.

They have chosen the old way of divide and govern and in so choosing they are imperiling world peace and the credit of the free nations, much as they have imperilled them by their stubborn colonial policies in Tunisia and Indochina. It remains to be seen what reforms the French will introduce under the new regime or how they will be carried out. Promises aren't performances.

The best proof of the truth of this statement is to recapitulate the decrees which the Sultan refused to sign, for which refusal he was deposed. According to the nationalists, the first granted equal political rights with Moroccans to the French in Morocco even although the latter maintained their French citizenship. The second denied any competence to the UN to intervene in Moroccan affairs, and the third assigned to the Prime Minister, put in by the French at the time of the creation of the protectorate in 1912, a man now well over a hundred years of age, most of the Sultan's legislative rights.

# The Socialists In The French Strikes

By F. A. de CARMAUX

(F. A. de Carmaux is the pseudonym of an observer who returned last month from an extended visit to France.)

France's long revolutionary tradition has given the French workers a reputation for impatience and militancy. The recent general strike was, however, rather an indication of their patience and forbearance. They resorted to strike only when it became more than obvious that the conservative majority in the National Assembly would continue to favor all groups of the population except the salaried workers, both industrial and white collar. The situation has been steadily aggravated since the last legislative elections, when the present conservative majority took power.

The French Socialist Party emerged from the June 1951 elections as the strongest democratic party. At that time both the Gaullists and the Communists had elected more Deputies than the SFIO. Since then, Communist and Gaullist strength has been cut by internal party strife. At the present time the Socialist Group is the largest in the Assembly.

The decline in Gaullist power has been more spectacular than the Communist decline and is directly due to a Socialist decision. In 1949 when the Gaullists made their impressive showing in the municipal elections and when the Communists had already demonstrated that they could not cripple French industry, the Socialists, at Leon Blum's suggestion, decided to concentrate on breaking the Gaullist movement.

Blum feared that de Gaulle would become another of the "men-on-horseback" so prevalent

in French history. He believed that if the movement could be maneuvered into becoming just another conservative political party, its elan would be lost. Events have proven him correct. But it was a calculated risk, since it meant that the Socialists would lose some popularity because they had to protect the Republic by cooperating with the moderate groups in the National Assembly.

## GAULLISM FOUNDERS

The Gaullist movement started to founder after the June 1951 elections when it failed to get an absolute majority in the Assembly. It was not until the formation of the Pinay government in the late spring of 1952 that the Socialists could afford the luxury of unconditional opposition. Even after the June 1951 elections, when the conservatives and the Catholic Church felt strong enough to reintroduce the

question of state subsidy to Catholic schools and the whole question of the relation between Church and State, the Socialists did not dare to enter the opposition completely.

They could not, of course, participate in the government but they did vote with the government on certain measures. The negotiations which preceded the formation of the Pinay government brought the dissension of the Gaullist party to the surface.

Henceforth the Socialists could fight actively if unsuccessfully against the Pinay policy of giving a fiscal amnesty and of following the policy suggested by the reactionary white colonials in the French Union. M. Pinay, as Prime Minister Joseph Laniel is doing now, also tried to bring prices down by enlisting business cooperation.

It should be recalled here that those who made the most money

from the wartime and post-war black markets were those engaged in the food commodity market. It is they, too, who profited most from the tax amnesty. They are known as the B.O.F.'s (beurre, oeufs, fromages or butter, eggs, cheese, deriving from the signs over dairy shops.)

The B.O.F.'s did not show their gratitude to M. Pinay by bringing out their hidden money reserves for the purchase of the famous Pinay bonds. The government deficit has risen continuously. Prices have kept step with the deficit.

The government and its parliamentary majority has also refused to adopt the escalator clause for wages which the Socialists and Workers' Force unions have been demanding. The living standard of the workers is still below the 1939 level.

## WORKERS' FORCE ACTS

In the face of these conditions, the Workers' Force unions would not and could not hold back their members from demanding a more equal share of the national wealth. Nor could they refuse to act either with the Catholic or Communist unions.

Last spring, the government (then headed by the Radical Rene Mayer) received ample warning in the form of several one-day strikes that the workers were becoming increasingly res-

sive. M. Mayer's cabinet fell shortly afterwards on the question of additional taxes. M. Laniel, his successor, is a willing prisoner of the Pinay policies.

One of the apparent paradoxes of the strikes is that they have clearly demonstrated the weakness of Communist control over the workers while, at the same time, they have not indicated that the Workers' Force or the Socialists have taken the place of the Communists. One of the principal reasons for this may be the reaction of the workers who became disillusioned with the Communists.

## THE EX-COMMUNIST

It has been noted by one of the Socialist leaders in the Parisian suburban Red belt that the first reaction of such workers is to remain aloof from any and all unions and political parties. It usually takes from three to four years for the workers to become sufficiently decontaminated so as to give support to the Socialists or the Workers' Force unions.

A repetition of the August strike will occur unless the workers' demands for higher wages and/or lower prices will be met. That was the promise contained in the candidacy for Premier of Pierre Mendes-France last June, and this is the reason he had Socialist support.